FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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FREEDOM.

A FABLE.

Came a folk to proud Olympus, in the peerless days of old,
Crying, "Zeus, great Zeus, O, hear us! From thy banquet halls of gold,
Lend thy peasants ear a moment; for their plaint is loud and long,
Of the grievous slights they suffer from the iron hand of Wrong,
Of the hard hearts of the Mighty and the grinding of the Strong."

Then Zeus answered: "O, my people—came your asses late to me,
Crying, 'Zeus, great Zeus, O hear us! From the peasants set us free;
For the loads they give are grievous and our plaint is loud and long,
Of our Freedom reft and rended by the iron hand of Wrong,
Of the hard hearts of the Mighty and the grinding of the Strong.'

"Therefore, spake I gently: 'Asses—Freedom suits not such as ye;
For ye love at heart a master, though a despot oft he be.
Yet in mercy this I grant you—race of asses—evil-starred,
From this day your hides, my creatures, dented deep and cudgel-scarred,
Shall grow callous and unfeeling, when the blows are falling hard';

"And your asses went rejoicing. Be ye wise, my folk, as they,
If ye will not fight to free you—see ye toughen, day by day.
Teach your hides to thicken. Know ye, from your cradles to your graves,
If ye did not creep as cravens, there would stalk no despot knaves,
If ye were but fit for Freedom, never Man should make you slaves."

—Anon.

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THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

(An address by William Bailie, delivered at memorial meeting, Boston, November 11, 1900.)

The speaker gave an outline of the conditions that led up to the Haymarket tragedy, showing how the police on various occasions had, in cold blood, and without provocation, shot down defenceless, innocent workingmen and women, and for these murders nobody was brought to justice; no outcry was made by the press; the toilers were terrorized; and the public was indifferent.

After describing the circumstances of the trial, conviction, and execution of the Anarchists, the speaker said the ruling class could kill the men who dared to proclaim a new truth; but the ideas for which they died still live, and will grow and spread, till those ideas will at last be potent enough to overthrow the system in opposition to which the martyrs were slain.

Throughout recorded history, the story is the same. Socrates, for speaking the truth to a people unwilling to hear, was rewarded with the poisoned cup. Jesus was crucified, not for calling himself the Messiah, but because he taught the gospel of human equality. Like the Anarchists in our times, the early Christians were, by the powers of the law and order in that day, charged with every conceivable crime. They were said to be enemies of property, religion and morality, thieves, incendiaries and assassins.

In the long dark night of superstition called the middle ages, the intellect of man was enthralled to priestly authority; but even then a few brave souls refused to accept the doctrines enforced by Church and State, and boldly proclaimed the light that was in them. They were branded as heretics, enemies to society, and at the stake, amid the blaze of burning fagots, testified to the new truth, that persecution could not extinguish. Familiar to all are the names of Bruno, Huss, Savanarula, Servetus, and scores of others, who perished at the hands of the Grinnells and Garys of those days, because they sought for truth amidst the legally enforced errors of religion, philosophy, and science.

In times less remote, the struggle for political freedom brought forth some of the noblest champions of liberty, who gladly paid with their lives the penalty for promulgating ideas to light the path of progress. No nation can show a brighter galaxy of martyrs in the cause of political liberty, than downtrodden misgoverned Ireland.

History records but one case, that in some features parallels the legal murder of the Chicago martyrs. This was the trial, conviction and death of three Irishmen at Manchester, the last political martyrs of their race. Here, as in Chicago, judicial authority became the servile instrument of mob violence, of blind prejudice, and brutal passion. In both instances, justice was deliberately perverted by governmental authority; and murder was committed by legal forms in the name of law and order.

The battles of freedom in the future will be waged not merely for political rights, but for the industrial and economic emancipation of the mass of the people. Spies, Parsons and their comrades were the prophets of this movement. They were leaders in the vanguard; and while nobly doing their duty, were slain at their post. They preceded the ideal of future society. They saw the multitudinous forms of injustice under which the toilers of the world labored. They realized what the supremacy of the money power and the triumph of a privileged class meant to the masses in this republic. Full well they knew how the laborer was deprived by legal monopoly of access to all natural opportunities; how he was despised, abused, threatened, and imprisoned, whenever he complained. They understood how capitalism was grinding profits out of the life-blood of the wage slaves; how the rights of free men were passing away from the people; how legislators, presidents and courts of justice were but instruments in the hands of the monopolists, to defend their wealth and to suppress the spirit of revolt among the masses. Nor did our martyrs fail to perceive that force was not the remedy to be adopted by the wage workers. True, they advised the people to arm in self-defence. But while the capitalists and their tools, the governing class, controlled the organized armed military and naval forces, together with the militia and police throughout the land, it would be criminal on our part to counsel an attack on this power by the workers. Let us then educate the people, cultivate their intelligence, arm them with ideas, teach them the causes of their servile position, and show them the remedy in a better economic system, which will be possible only through the spread of intelligence, increased capacity for industrial organization and cooperation. When the people in this way are ready for the change, the present unjust system will fall; and then there will be none to defend it.

Two tendencies may be traced in the evolution of society. On the one hand, authority, centralization, manifested in compulsory paternal, invasion of personal rights, the subordination of the individual to the will of others, to the majority. On the other hand, liberty, decentralization, home rule, equal rights and equal freedom for every one, respect for the rights of others, the sovereignty of the individual.

All great conflicts, all revolutionary movements, wherein new ideas were struggling for recognition, have exemplified these two leading principles. Today, social reformers are divided into two camps, representing these opposing views. The Socialists believe in authority and government. They accept the coercive principle of majority rule. The Anarchists, on the contrary, refuse to give allegiance to authority, deny the right of majority to coerce or invade the rights of the individual. They uphold the voluntary principle as against paternalism and commercialism. The only law in which they believe is natural law, which carries its own penalties, if neglected. Man-made laws do not enforce themselves, and are more honored in the breach than the observance.

It is assumed by the Socialists that if they should capture political power, they could confiscate private property, under the guise of "instruments of production." But this is a false assumption. History shows that privilege and vested rights die hard. The propertied class, supported by all those who hope themselves some day to possess property, would not only object, but would in the event of a Socialist proposal of confiscation, at once raise an army of hirelings, and forcibly resist any effort to despoil them.

The idea of an industrial revolution by force of arms has had its day, and must pass on. That the workers will wake up some fine morning, and find the capitalist system gone, by some mysterious revolution, is a delusion of the past. The process of change is evolutionary, not miraculous, and is therefore mighty slow. Patience the reformer must have, and be willing to take what comes along bit by bit. It will never come any other way. The working classes must have shorter hours, better pay, broader opportunities, more culture, a chance to live a freer healthier, fuller life. There must be the things aimed for; and they can all be gained. Let us continue the good work of the martyrs. Educate the people. Spread the higher social ideal. Point to voluntary co-operation as the successor to the capitalist system. And by thus carrying on the educational words began amongst the toilers by the Chicago Anarchists, we best honor them, and hasten the coming of the better day for which they lived and died.

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SOCIALISTS CRITICISED.

"Government does not hamper the producer, nor interfere with the consumer; it is the modern system of capitalistic production and distribution, as demonstrated by Karl Marx, that afflicts the industrial masses," argues many an earnest student of Socialism.

Without intending to be offensive, I must record it as my opinion that the students of Marxian Socialism do not comprehend the fulness of the movement they are part of—not the whole, as they think; but merely a part of—Socialism.

For this reason, I submit to them, for their consideration, the thought, that the modern system of capitalistic production and distribution, is a product of government; or in other words, that government, which they consider needful to society, for the purpose of protection or direction, or for both, cannot, regardless of what form or name it may assume, evolve conditions other than that of inequality; for the premise—government—implies authority and power to interfere, regulate and direct. It also implies that society must be divided into two classes; the governing, who are the regulators, the directors, clothed with power to enforce, and endowed with the right to interfere; and the governed, who are regulated, directed, and interfered with; and that to this impossibility of government (not THE government, but the thing—government), to evolve conditions other than that of inequality, capitalism—which, by the way, is not modern, but as ancient as government itself—owes its existence.

CON LYNCH.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

THE TRIUMPH OF BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM.

In expressing unswerving opposition to political action, Anarchists have always pointed out that oil and water will not mix. A revolutionary party cannot divide the functions of administration with an anti-revolutionary party. The line of cleavage is so distinctly marked, that no common ground is even thinkable. The bourgeoisie is split up into a multitude of factions; but the difference between them is not a radical one. In the last campaign, Republicans, Democrats, Populists, Prohibitionists, Union Reformers, and United Christians, differed from each other on many superficial points. Between the extreme wing of conservative Republicanism and the extreme wing of radical Populism, there are many phases of gradation. They one and all, however, unite in maintaining the present system of private property, competitive industry, wages, profit, rent, taxes, and the various concomitants of a capitalist civilization. Hence it is comparatively easy for them to arrange a *modus vivendi* among themselves, in spite of the numerous modifications, strenuously advocated by some of them, and as violently opposed by others, of the manner in which labor is to be exploited. Compromise is the very breath of life to them; and the distribution of power between their several factions is attended with no disaster to their respective aims. All are moving in substantially the same direction; and the struggle is simply as to apportionment of power.

Utterly different is the attitude of the revolutionary element. Its champions contend, not for the modification of bourgeois institutions, but for their absolute annihilation. Between the two standpointe, there is absolutely no common ground. A compromise between water and land results in—mud! To be semi-bourgeois, is to play the game of the bourgeoisie, and to deny the revolution. The proletarian may be compelled to advance step by step; but he should be assured that each step is directly forward. He will reach the goal sooner by *walking* straight ahead, than by *running* in a circle. The Socialist who mingles with the bourgeoisie in the political arena entangles himself in a labyrinth full of pits and quagmires, and with no issue save that found by retracing his steps.

Proof of this is at hand in the proceedings of the late International Socialist Congress. This was a thoroughly representative gathering of political Socialists from all parts of the world. Every country where the movement exists was represented. No delegate was admitted who could not present gilt-edged credentials from the Socialist party in his own country. Non-believers in political action were rigorously barred. There were no Anarchists there to "cause disturbance." The doors were closed to all but the elect. The attendance was very large, including the most celebrated leaders of the Socialist movement, and a thoroughly representative gathering of the rank and file. The baldest sophistry cannot evade the conclusion that its decisions reflect with the utmost accuracy the condition of the Socialist mind throughout the world. Many brave dissenters will be found; but the control of the movement is in the hands of the element which dominated the International Congress.

The crucial test came on the Millerand question. All sincere revolutionists, the world over, looked to this Congress to establish the vital principle involved, by branding the triple traitor as his crime against the proletariat demanded. The purification of the movement imperatively demanded this action. To evade the issue, meant to share the offence. The matter had been thoroughly discussed for many months; so that no delegate could plead ignorance of the question to be determined.

"Should a Socialist accept a seat in a bourgeois ministry?" The assembled Socialists of the world answered in the affirmative, and thereby renounced forever their claim to lead the revolutionary forces of the world. It was an act of desertion unparallelled in magnitude during the entire history of the proletarian movement. The issue was clearly marked, and no delegate could have failed to know the precise meaning of his action. The delegation from each country was allowed two votes. In case of disaggreement, one vote was allowed to each faction. The Kautsky resolution, permitting Socialist membership in a bourgois ministry, was carried by a vote of twenty-nine to nine. The delegations from Germany, England, Austria, Bohemia, Denmark, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Argentine Republic, Portugal, and Switzerland, were unanimous for the Kautsky resolution. This includes every nation where the Socialist movement has attained large dimensions, except France, which was divided, the majority supporting Millerand and Kautsky. Poland, Russia, the United States, and Italy, were also divided; but the single Italian delegate who voted against the Kautsky resolution admitted that he voted contrary to the views of most of the Italian Socialists. Bulgaria and Ireland were the only countries casting a solid vote against the Kautsky resolution. Job Harriman and the other delegates of the Social Democratic Party voted in the affirmative.

Attempts have been made to defend the Kautsky resolution, in that it does not name Millerand, and that it merely concedes the right of a Socialist to participate in a bourgois ministry under exceptional conditions, and only while the majority of the party approve of the action. It is indeed diplomatically framed; but its actual effect is absolutely unequivocal. Every Millerandist present accepted it as a triumph. The Congress, which began its deliberations by electing Jaures, Millerand's most prominent and active supporter, as chairman, reached the extreme point in its desertion of the proletarian cause, in the closing words of the Kautsky resolution: "A Socialist must leave the ministry, when the organized party recognizes that the government gives evidence of partiality in the struggle between capital and labor." "Partiality!" Shades of Karl Marx! The utterance would shame even a beginner in Socialism, much more a "class-conscious" Kautsky. Are Socialists fighting for impartiality, or for the full rights of labor? Do they not know that a party which upholds the capitalist regime, in even its most improved form, displays *ipso facto* the most decided "partiality" against labor? In Heaven's name, what are we to think of this "lame and impotent conclusion" to the tortuous twists and sinuous sentences in which the resolution abounds? Every proletarian, whether Socialist or Anarchist, has a right to question, and to be met with something more than the shifting evasions which have alone relieved the profound silence of the leading Socialist papers of the United States.

If the resolution was not intended to endorse Millerandism, why did every Millerandist at the Congress vote for it? The gauntlet was thrown down by Guesdes, the principal foe of Millerandism. The election of Jaures, the absence of any more definite pro-Millerand proposition, the active support of Kautsky by the Millerandists, the nature of the debate on the resolution, —all these effectively dispose of any attempt to dodge the issue.

The last action of this extraordinary Congress was quite in line with the record it had already made. This was to throw cold water on the effort for the general strike, the Congress declaring that "it sees no actual possibility of a universal international strike." Yet it admits the necessity for partial strikes, recommends organization, and above all union for political action. The workingmen of the world are beginning to learn from experience, and will be slow to commit their fortunes to a political movement, of however rapid growth, which ends in the *cul-de-sac* of Millerandism.

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NOTES.

In finding it necessary to discuss the Millerand case and its various implications, we do not impugn the integrity of millions of Socialists throughout the world. On the contrary, wherever they show a disposition to fraternal action, we are glad to meet them half-way. But we cannot compromise in vital matters; nor can we refrain from pointing out the danger which awaits even the most honest of men, when he is so unwise as to dabble in politics. The alternative of a proletarian political party is between rigidity accompanied by perpetual impotence, and issuing in narrowness, bigotry, intolerance and tyranny, on the one hand; and plausible compromise, accompanied by bourgeois alliances and the gradual accumulation of an undesirable political element who soon learn how to run the party, and issuing in a final abandonment of the real revolutionary spirit, on the other. The De Leonites are lost in the first quagmire; the Millerandists in the second. Sooner or later, every political path must end in one of these two swamps. Hence we constantly point out the danger and unwisdom of coquetting with the ballot-box.

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The length of C. C. Moore's hair seems to be a burning question with the Freethought press. Perhaps, like Samson, his strength lies in his unshorn locks. At any rate, we are grateful to him for having routed so many of the Comstock Philistines. Let the Truth Seeker not be so unkind, as to push forward the comparison, by intimating that his weapon was identical with that used by the Hebrew warrior!

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The Biblioteca Sociale of Paterson, N. J., has issued a portrait of Bresci, with an English inscription, explaining the motive which prompted his act. These are to be had for ten cents each, the proceeds to be given to Bresci's family. For sale by Free Society.

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CURRENT NEWS.

A detailed account of the Colorado lynching, taken from the Denver Post, reached us since last week's comment on the affair was written. It is one of the most revolting tales ever put on paper. Civilization is evidently at a low ebb in some parts of Colorado. Rape, whether committed by a Negro or by a white man, here or in the Philippines, where it is a favorite pastime of American officers, is a hideous crime; but the cold-blooded and diabolical torture of a human being, the exultation in the sight of human agony, the fiendish taunts hurled at a dying man, mark natures as thoroughly dehumanized as can be found on the planet. And this is the civilization which is being shot into weaker nations in remote quarters of the globe!

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The Lord must have been on a vacation, when the recent tornado struck La Grande, Tenn. The report states that "it demolished both the Methodist and Baptist churches, a block apart, and left standing a residence between them."

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The idea of marriage as a theatrical performance is illustrated by the duke of Manchester, who married an American girl. They were married quietly in Europe, but are not satisfied with the lack of pomp, and intend to have a more elaborate and fashionable performance in this country. It is natural that an empty sham should be clothed with pompous forms.

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If the maladministration is at all superstitious, it will find food for reflection in the recent fall of the great painting of Lincoln, which hung in the White House. Whatever good there was in the ideas of Lincoln left the White House long ago.

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The czar and the pope are dying, amid the maledictions of humanity, to leave a like heritage of hate to their successors. The tide is rising, and will not ebb, till rulers and their thrones are swept from the earth. The past has been a record of the deeds of over-lords; the future belongs to the people.

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Albert Guidelly, "the converted Anarchist," turns out to have been simply a police spy, in the pay of the Italian consul. He was caught at his dirty work, with papers from the Italian consul in his pocket; given the thrashing he had richly earned; and turned loose, to consort at his pleasure with the curs of his own breed. The "conversion" yarn came afterwards.

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By speculating in corn, one of the necessities of life, George H. Phillips of Chicago is likely to put a million dollars in his pocket within a few days. What he wins, somebody else must lose. In return for this large sum, he renders no social service whatever. No honest toiler can earn a million dollars by a lifetime of steady work. Only the gamblers, parasites, and robbers, who are of little or no value to society, become masters of these large fortunes. Is there rhyme or reason in an industrial system which punishes the useful, and rewards the useless?

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Captain of Detectives Seymour of San Francisco confesses his incompetency to protect travelers against bunco men. Police Judge Cabaniss of the same city declared, a few months ago, that he did not care to protect patrons of Chinese laundries from any form of imposition. The chief of police of St. Louis

confessed, last winter, that he could not protect the citizens from the burglars and "hold-up" men who infest that city. Since the only possible excuse for government lies in its promise of protection to its subjects, the days of the old fetich seem to be growing short.

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The United States has decided to join the European powers in stealing Chinese territory. Of course, the crime is salved over by a pretence of friendliness to China, and of an intention to effect a mere temporary occupation; but even the most simple know what that means. How many reasons we have to be proud of our country!

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McKinley now wants an army of 135,000 men. The poor dupes who voted for him of course could not dream that Dr. Jekyll would change to Mr. Hyde so soon after election. Common decency would require that the mask be worn for a few months longer. But when was the maladministration known to concern itself with common decency? The voting chumps of this country have themselves to thank. They had fair warning, and yet chose to endorse militarism and international piracy at the polls. They will get their fill during the next four years; and it will serve them right.

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The San Francisco police must do something to earn their salaries. Being under orders to let the big gamblers alone, having no encouragement to meddle with the bunco-steerers, and finding burglars too dangerous game, they seek to win their laurels in the manner pointed out in the following news item:

Because little eleven-year-old "Joe" Tobin attempted to pick up a baseball, which had been batted over the fence of Recreation Park, at Harrison and Eigth streets, yesterday afternoon, Policeman G. Tracey deemed it incumbent upon himself to arrest the boy and charge him with petty larceny; although his prisoner stoutly maintained that he had merely intended to return the ball at the gate, thus earning admission to the game, according to a custom established by the management of the grounds. Young Tobin resides with his parents at 110 Converse street, and is a bright and manly little schoolboy. At the City Hall Prison, he stoutly disclaimed any intention of stealing the ball. Prison Keeper Dwyer refused to put the boy in a cell with the other prisoners; but permitted him to remain at the desk, pending the arrival of his father, who had been notified of his son's arrest. At 4 o'clock Tobin senior had not appeared; and Dwyer reluctantly sent the young prisoner to the Hall of Justice.

In this manner, "society" is protected. Hats off to the efficient police of San Francisco!

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In the same connection, little Delaware has a word to say. This is the State of the medieval whipping-post. On November 24, at Newcastle, Del., a small boy, only 14 years old, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment, and ten lashes on the bare back, for stealing a ride on a freight car, and trying to carry off a bottle of perfumery. The whipping was most brutally inflicted, by the burly sheriff. We may well ask in what century we are living.

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Kitchener, one of the worst animals in the British army, is resorting to such inhuman conduct in South Africa, that even the wild beast Weyler censures him. He is warring on women and children, robbing them, destroying their homes, and penning them up in stockades, like so many cattle. His latest decision is to banish all newspaper correspondents, so that the world may be kept in ignorance of his dastardly and brutal acts. This degenerate is the representative of British civilization in South Africa; and the "good" queen and her noble advisers, who know of his crimes, far from recalling him, will not even lift a finger to check him. He is doing their dirty work too well to be interfered with. Meantime, it is a relief to see the courage with which the Boers still resist the villanous invaders. They gave General French a tremendous beating the other day, and came near capturing his whole force. Kruger is receiving immense ovations wherever he goes in Europe. If he does not succeed in securing intervention, he will at least make public some truths which will make the great British Empire look and feel pretty contemptible.

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DISCORDS.

"In the case of those four young men, they simply went out for a *little amusement of a kind that, unfortunately, is more or less common the world over.* I do not attempt to palliate their conduct, of course. *But I am convinced that they meant that girl no harm; and her death was an accident.*"—A Paterson clergymen to a reporter for a New York newspaper, on the Boschieter tragedy.

No clergyman in the land would dare to speak in that way of a Negro, who assaulted a white woman. Even this most hideous of crimes is glossed over, when perpetrated by the scions of wealth and influence. Does anybody believe that humanity will forever endure these glaring and infamous inequalities?

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I intended to comment at some length on the president's Thanksgiving proclamation, which is even worse, and more in the Pecksniff vein, than the average utterance of this charracter. But perhaps a few words will be sufficient. Even from a non-Anarchist standpoint, the bare issuance of such a proclamation is itself a grossly unconstitutional act. The president is supposed to represent all the people, and not merely those who hold certain religious opinions. In his official capacity, he has no right to take sides on any religious question, nor to appoint any religious holiday. From the Anarchist standpoint, his action is only part of the general hypocrisy of a government, which falsely pretends to represent the people, while in reality existing to secure the supremacy of a class. May its days be few in the land.

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Some papers have been sent in from Passaic, N. J., showing the flurry into which the bare suggestion of an Anarchist meeting can throw certain half-fledged "organs of public opinion." The Passaic Herald foams at the mouth in its hysterical declaration that there shall be no free speech in the city, if it can have its way. To its bleary vision, Anarchists are simply a lot of brutal murderers, who should be handled without mercy. If the Herald will take a dose of bromo-seltzer and let whiskey alone, it may recover from its severe attack of delirium tremens. When it does so, we shall be pleased to point out its numerous errors.

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Max O'Rell now rises to inform us what kind of a woman he loves. The gist of it is in the following paragraphs:

I hate stupid women with whom you can only talk of knickknack, a silly society gossip, servants and babies; yet I should not care for a woman who would not give all her intellectual attainments for youth, a lovely face and a beautiful figure; simply, to my mind, that woman would not be a womanly woman.

I would rather admire and like that woman who, if you were to remark to her how clever she looked, would take it as a criticism of the way she was dressed.

The man I admire is the one who possesses all the best attributes of his sex, such as strength, power, determination, pluck, generosity; and the defects I forgive in him are those which you may expect to find in a manly man. Provided he is not effeminate, a man is tolerable.

The woman I love is the woman who possesses all the womanly virtues and qualities, sweetness, devotion, reliability. The little failings I forgive in her are those of her sex, frivolity and the divine right of changing her mind. If, in any way, woman apes man, she is intolerable and hateful.

There are doubtless "men you call such, I presume," who share these medieval views, though not all give so frank expression to them. To such men, I would leave all the simpering dolls and submissive household slaves whom they adore so highly. "The woman I love" is a self-respecting human being, who develops her own individuality to the full, and gives free scope to whatever talent she may possess. The Torvald Helmers, Willoughby Patternes, and Max O'Rells, who dishonor the name of manhood, are welcome to the rest.

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Max O'Rell would not love "Annie Laurie," because she writes; but he would be delighted with her opinions. Her chief delight is to sneer at her own sex. One of her latest pronunciamentos is directed against the idea that a married woman should have the presumption to believe that an artistic career is still open to her. She should know that marriage means an end to that sort of thing. Let her settle down, and be a good, obedient little slave; and leave to her owner the exercise of all the larger rights of a human being. Could not some well-advised friend persuade the coarse-faced Winifred to take her own medicine? Max O'Rell would just suit her. I refrain from commenting on her recent brutal eulogy of capital punishment. A woman whose ideal of man is that of a slugger, and whose "true woman" is a contented puppet, has little claim to speak for either manhood or womanhood.

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The San Francisco Examiner is winning small glory by its attempt to stay the rising tide of indignation against the Stanford woman. If the university is merely a "semi-private" institution, to do the bidding of a small capitalist ring, it has no business to crave public assistance, nor to ask exemption from taxation; and all talk of its boss' "unbounded generosity" is as false as it is disgusting. If it is a public institution, the Stanford woman is a common criminal, in everything but a legal sense. In either case, she is entitled to no more courtesy than any other enemy of society. The Examiner has no gallantry to spare when a poor woman is entangled in a slight brawl, or accused of some petty offence; but the arrogance of unscrupulous wealth very quickly brings it to its editorial knees.

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THE COMMEMORATION IN BOSTON.

Each anniversary of November 11 recalls the prophetic utterances of the martyrs, before the last act in the tragedy. What are the indications that we are approaching the realization of their words, as the years roll by? Memorial meetings should be not a mere momentary tribute, but a potent force in social reform, stimulating the aspiration and will of the people, till they at length become an irresistible current.

As a participator in the Boston meeting, I marvelled that the men and women present appeared little moved by the pathos of the deaths they assembled to commemorate. The value of their nobly heroic sacrifice seems to me to consist largely in the emotion the memory of it evokes in the freedom-lovers, who have taken up their battle-cry and defend the flag they bore aloft to the scaffold. Such emotion may be most effectively transmuted into enthusiasm for individual faithfulness in the work of education and enlightenment, in order that it may be impossible for history to repeat such crimes as those in which the representatives of so-called law and order exalted thirteen years ago.

Thus it was disappointing that the chairman at the Boston meeting invited discussion; and that the effect of the previous impressive exhortations was quickly dissipated by inconsequent attempts to renew the well-worn argument between Anarchism and Socialism by partisans sore on the subject, with little regard for the basic principles that underlie all progressive agitation. Many who unite in condemnation of existing tyrannies have yet to learn that it is respect for each other's opinion, not the descent of argumentation into personalities, that will further the cause of liberty. Indeed, the beautiful ideal of non-invasive self-sovereignty, which is the pivotal idea of Anarchistic philosophy, makes such respect a prime essential.

Anarchy, it cannot be too often insisted, is not inimical to organization. It is therefore greatly to be regretted that Anarchists so often (as at Boston) put themselves at a disadvantage, in comparison with other less radical groups by failing to give due consideration to the conduct of their meetings. A gathering at which the chairman and chief promoters are inattentive or occupied with matters that should have been previously arranged, at which disturbing conversation is permitted during the address, in an atmosphere heavily laden with tobacco smoke, savors too much of the popular misconception of Anarchy. The local press could hardly be expected to take such a memorial seriously. There are surely many Bostonians of various schools of thought, whom such discomforts would deter, who would gladly have attended a better organized commemoration to express their sympathy with the freedom-loving dead. As long as Anarchists among themselves adopt an invasive do-as-I-please course, they must expect their views to meet with misconception and misrepresentation. Why furnish occasion for the enemy to blaspheme?

HELENA BORN.

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Literature.

Right Marital Living. By Ida C. Craddock. Denver, Colo., Ida C. Craddock, 1838 California St. Price 50 cents.

This is the third edition of the book which, in its earlier form, was suppressed by the Comstock gang. The author wields a fearless pen, and declares her ideal of sexual relationship in the clearest language, and advances a theory with reference to the function of sexual intercourse, and the method to fulfil it, which is worthy of serious investigation.

◆ ◆ ◆

Why I am a Socialist. By Prof. George D. Herron. The Federation for Social Justice, 634 East Avenue N, Oak Park, Ill. Price 5 cents.

An eloquent argument for Socialism, which would require only the elimination of a few political paragraphs, to express the aims and ideals of the Anarchist propaganda. The essay is strong, where it deals with principles; incorrigibly weak, where it endorses authoritarian methods.

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GENERAL OUTLINE FOR A COURSE OF ANARCHISTIC STUDY.

BY C. L. JAMES.

SUBJECTS OF LESSONS.

1. Origins of Political, Economic, and Religious Authority.
2. Softening of Authority by Culture.
3. Civil Government the Stay of Remaining Authority and Barbarism.
4. Freedom Stimulates; Authority Depresses Civilization.
5. Government not needed for Protection against Violence.
6. Belief in Government Essentially Superstitious.
7. Science the Remedy for Superstition.
8. Progress in the Right Direction.
9. The Anarchist Movement in History.
10. Anarchism not Dependent on Any Metaphysical System.
11. A Peril to Anarchism, The Movement in Favor of Ignorance.
12. Anarchism and Personal Conduct.

LESSON XII.

ANARCHISM AND PERSONAL CONDUCT.

The Inductive Method, Which is Also the Anarchistic Method (Lesson VII the Inductive Method Applied to Authority; Lesson VIII the Inductive Method Begins by Discarding Authority) Applies to Moral and Social as Physical Science (Lesson VIII). It Teaches that Men Do Not Primarily Seek Pleasure (According to Egoistic Dogma: Locke, *Human Understanding*, Bentham, *Works);* Nor Yet Ideal Purposes, as the General Good (According to Transcendental Dogma: Cousin, *Le Vrai, le Bien et le Beau);* but They Act in the First Instance Purposely.—Froebel, *Education;* Herbert Spencer, *Psychology;* Schopenhauer, *The World as Will;* Hartman, *Philosophy of the Unconscious.*

Data of Morality: Purposeless Action Checked Becomes Desire.—Plato, *Crito;* Desire when not easily checked by the will becomes passion, and passion unchecked by the will is vice.—Aristotle, *Ethics;* External restraint increases intensity of desire.—Plato, *Crito;* therefore thus far mischievous (evidently); so does restraint by the will; but the latter, without external authority submits to reason and teaches desire to do likewise. —Proudhon *Library,* ("Liberty not the daughter but the mother of order"); whereas when externally checked, desire is reenforced by reason (see first five lessons); therefore desire must be moderately gratified.

Limits of Moderation: Negative Limit, —leaving free others so far as they will leave us free, with a margin of toleration for their excesses (Lesson V), and emancipating ourselves from tyranny of passion (previous authorities in this lesson).

Positive Limit,—The wise man will aim to emancipate others (1) from the tyranny of passion and (2) of other men (first four lessons).

Inductions of Morality.—(1) Savage or unmoral state, superstitious tyranny, (Lesson I); (2) Philistine or sham moral state, metaphysically and legally superstitious tyranny, (Lessons III to VI); (3) Degenerate or immoral state, crimes and criminals, (Lesson V); (4) ideal or moral state, (Lessons II and VII).

"Georgics of the Mind," Methods of Moral Culture.—Macaulay, *Bacon;* Bacon, *De Augmentis, Book 7, Chap. III;* Rousseau, Froebel, cit.

Imperfect state of the science.—Anarchy the first step towards making it practical.—Obvious result of the whole previous course.

CONCERNING WOMEN.

Grace Bishop, a writer for the Press, says, "Virtue in women is on the decrease." Grace must surely have been unfortunate in her surroundings, or fails to judge fairly, if such be her conclusion. My experience is that at no previous time of which we have record, has woman been so truly noble, kind, good and honest, as she now is. This is the general verdict of the thinkers and students of the age. The whole human race is moving on towards higher and still higher planes.

One of our oldest records is the Jew Bible. Compare the women of that age with those of our own; and see the vast improvement.

Grace says we "defend social heresies," and "are grub-worms of vice."

It is only by defending heresies, that we are able to grow. What is heretical today, even Christianity will laud tomorrow.

She may call *herself* a "grub-worm of vice"; but I repudiate the epithet as applied women and men in general. Good and evil will always be found side by side; but evil will continually be growing into good; and good will keep on growing better.

Woman is the race! She is the mother, the guide, the leader and the builder of humanity. She is of the superior sex. She *can* be worse; and she *can* be better than men can be; for she is capable of the highest forms of good or evil that we know of.

True, she is no longer a clinging vine, a mere home-maker, and child-breeder; but she is more and better than these could possibly be.

Her mission is to teach truth, to educate, uplift and encourage. Grace speaks of prostitutes as though they were the filth of the earth. But she fails to remember that for every so-called prostitute outside of marriage, there are probably fifty inside of it; and no doubt if those outside had half a chance, they would make the better class of the two: for they are generally highly sexed, kind and affectionate.

A loving conjugal union of man and woman is a blessed condition, and there are today more of these unions than ever before; and they will continue to increase in number, as long as conditions are favorable for equality of sex, and race culture.

The general caterer for the public press prints such things as he thinks his readers will endorse. They are like preachers—they dare not speak their innermost, lest they get ahead of their readers and hearers. But the time is coming when the press and pulpit will sow more of the good, the true, and the beautiful, the strong, the grand and the healthful. And as the race grows by what it feeds upon, it will improve in due proportion.

ELMINA DRAKE SLENKER.

CHORDS.

On with the carnival of commercialism! On with the riotous revelry of rapacity! Four years more of tin can prosperity for the toilers, and four years more of milk and honey for capital. Business will be stimulated; more private yachts and palaces and castles and liveried coaches will be built, "so that the workers may have work."—Social Democratic Herald.

The argument advanced by President McKinley, that the Filipinos might justly be deprived of their independence, because Admiral Dewey did not promise to acknowledge it, can only be compared to that of the bunco-steerer, who says to his victim, "Did I promise to let you keep your pocket-book?"—Justice.

The Church endeavors to Christianize the heathen, in order to obviate the horrors of the sacrifice of a few human beings upon the pagan altars; but Christendom has become heathenized through the sacrifice of millions of human lives upon the altars and under the wheels of of the competitive system of industry and commerce!—The Flaming Sword.

Chinese prisoners who are captured by the German soldiers are compelled to dig a grave and sit on the edge of it, so that they will fall in when shot. This is called Christian civilization.—Farm and Factory.

First Negro—Dis hyah game ob disfranchising us by constitootional amen'ments ain't no squar' deal.

Second Negro—Wal, I'd rudder be disfranchised wif a constitootional amen'ment dan wif a shotgun!—Ex.

If Prince Tuan be seeking a refuge, he might consider the availability of Mansfield, O. That town seems to be completely under the control of American Boxers.—Indianapolis Press.

Genuine prosperity has come to some of the free lunch route political spouters, since the campaign fund was tapped.—Binghampton (N. Y.) Independent.

"You never studied oratory?"

"No," answered Senator Sorghum. "I never cared to be a speaker."

"What is your idea of a true orator?"

"An orator, sir, is a man who is out trying to get votes, without paying for them."—Washington Star.

The cheering news comes from Porto Rico that four men were killed during an election dispute, thus proving that civilization does not advance so slowly after all.—Machinists' Journal.

Senator Hanna has discovered that although there are no trusts, yet they reduce prices all along the line. The Senator has an agile mind.—Freeman's Labor Journal.

Republican workingmen will now please see to it that their "dinner pail" is kept full. No more strikes and boycotte needed.—Cleveland Citizen.

Johnny—Pa!

Pa—Yes.

Johnny—Is an Indian reservation a place where the Indians are allowed to live until the white men want it?—San Francisco Star.

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